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ing of amusement and contempt. The remedy is a simple one. If parents will forbid their sons to join these musical and dramatic clubs except on the express condition that no public performances of this character shall be given for money, we shall hear no more of these highly objectionable tours.

JAMES M. HUBBARD.

CAMPAIGNING IN THE WEST.

NO ONE could take an active part upon the stump in such a campaign as that of 1892, and not come out of it with an increased respect for the good faith and excellent sense of the multitudes who attend our political meetings.

It is more evident now than it ever was before that the people insist upon the best kind of speaking. Political orators never make a greater mistake than when they count upon clap-trap as a means of influencing votes. Of course there are exceptions. The question of the politics of Mr. Frick in the last campaign is an instance. The feelings aroused among some of our Irish fellow-citizens by criticisms on Patrick Egan is another instance. But in the long run it is seldom that the strongest weapons are found in appeals of this description.

The professional story-teller is at a discount. An apt illustration is always in place and it ought to be, but a speaker who goes through the country to day telling of the Republican pup which has its eyes open and the Democratic pup which has its eyes closed will not win votes, even if he gets the whoops and plaudits of the boys and torch-bearers in his audience. Most disastrous of all is the abusive speaker, the man who insists that all Republicans are boodlers or that all Democrats areimps of hell. Personalities, unless they be the mere recital of clearly-proved facts in the political records of the men assailed, are most unfortunate. Vituperative epithets are worse than useless. The facts must speak for themselves. There has been a great deal of satire written and believed regarding the absurd arguments which have sometimes succeeded in influencing the verdict of a jury in a trial at law or in influencing the judgment of the multitude in the trial of political issues. Undoubtedly personal, local and political prejudices cannot be ignored, but with the spread of general intelligence these factors become constantly of less account. Political speakers often think that they have to descend to the comprehension of their hearers, when, in point of fact, the good sense of the men who listen is quite as great as that of the man who addresses them.

Of course it is always wise to speak plainly. The thoughts which are clothed in simple phrase appeal best not only to the ignorant but to men of culture. The colloquial style conforms best, not merely to the demands of the unlearned, but to the highest standards. But the time is past when mere declamation, noise and fustian are of any value. It is the things you have to say, not the language in which these things are clothed, which is the important matter.

A man who believes that the shouts of his auditors indicate the success of his argument is greatly deceived. I once heard Senator Sherman in a speech at the Grand Opera House in my own town. His arguments were clear and convincing, but not striking or sensational. Those who heard him listened with attention, but were not demonstrative. He was followed by a so-called "Irish orator," who told a great number of common-place stories, which were uproariously applauded. The latter undoubtedly left the

town with the idea that he had made a much greater hit than Mr. Sherman. He was never more mistaken. Close attention is always a better standard of the value of the thing said than any amount of noise.

I have been surprised at the ease with which plain, uneducated people appreciate even abstruse economic problems where they are stated with reasonable clearness. And there is not much difference in the classes that constitute the audiences nor the neighborhood from which they come. An assembly of plain-looking Indiana farmers and mechanics understands these things about as well as the choicest assemblies from the environs of Boston or New York. Indeed, in the matter of political education, I am of opinion that the citizens of Indiana are rather in advance of those of the Atlantic seaboard. The Eastern man has more of that which is technically labelled culture. He will notice more critically a fault in grammar or a sentence badly turned. The Western man goes beneath the form and considers little but the thought which it expresses. He has broader and, I think, juster views of life and of political perspective.

As one who has spent half his life in each section, I am satisfied that the East knows much less of the West than we do of our Eastern brethren. Chicago has never yet been thoroughly understood by New York, which thought, for instance, that our Columbian Exposition, when Chicago won the prize, would be nothing but a country fair. The Chicago man has a better knowledge of New York. He knows less of books, but he has seen more of life and of the world. There is the same difference between Europe and America. We know more of the Old World than it knows of us.

Another characteristic of a political campaign in the West is its enthusiasm and heartiness. The New Englander goes to bed at a certain fixed hour. No matter how important the question or how eloquent the speech, he cannot be counted upon to remain in the hall much after bedtime. During the last campaign in New England there were often two or three speakers at each meeting, sometimes four or five, and these men had to divide as evenly as possible the scant two hours allotted. In Indiana a single speaker generally consumes the entire time, and most of his hearers will listen in quiet attention until midnight, if necessary. Indeed, a public speaker who stints them with an hour's speech will often be regarded in the light of the tradesman who gives short measure. They are entitled to an hour and a half or two hours of it, and the speaker has no right to defraud the men who come to hear him.

In the East, the audience is perhaps more enthusiastic in the matter of applause than in the West. In Indiana, men will sit during an entire afternoon or evening with little demonstration, but when the speaker closes they throng around him to shake hands and congratulate him, and tell him how much good he has done. The stump speaker, for the time being, is like a governor, a congressman or a president. His hearers come up in long lines and press his knuckles almost out of joint. The men of his own party in the town where he goes take every care that his meeting shall be a success. There is great heartiness in the hospitality of these Western audiences.

A few weeks ago I spoke in a small country town in the southern part of Indiana. A great multitude from the surrounding country attended. There were two saloons in the place and upon that day each of them might have counted upon doing the business of a whole average month. Yet the meeting was on behalf of their party. It must not be disgraced by an orgy, so each

of these saloon keepers locked his doors, barricaded them from the inside and remained within until the meeting was over to prevent intoxication at the "rally."

Out-of-door meetings are much more common in the West than along the Atlantic seaboard. The last campaign was a very quiet one and these meetings were more infrequent everywhere than usual. But generally they have been very common in States where the facilities for indoor meetings are entirely inadequate. There are few halls large enough to contain the thousands who assemble at these great political demonstrations, and the only way to accommodate the multitude is to erect a small platform somewhere in the woods and to procure a supply of planks from a neighboring lumber yard, which are placed upon beams or blocks of wood, and will thus seat an unlimited number of auditors. Those who come in carriages form a circle on the outside, while, still beyond, side shows attract all those who do not care to hear the speaking. There is generally a glee club to begin the entertainment, and sometimes a song or two afterwards closes the meeting.

It is, of course, much harder to talk in the open air than in a hall, and with a stiff breeze blowing, the lung power of the speaker is tested to the utmost. The avenues of escape and the attractions from the outside are much greater, and the audience will continually change, many leaving, others taking their places. Even a moderate-sized hall will often contain as many auditors as those who remain within hearing from the beginning to the end of a great "rally," so that these out-door meetings are less valuable for educational purposes than much smaller gatherings within doors. They are chiefly important for the "demonstration," the size and impressiveness of the parade, the show wagons filled with gaily dressed maidens, goddesses of liberty, etc., and uniformed clubs. We may congratulate ourselves that these methods seem to be going out of use.

The wear and tear of a campaign are very great. To speak each day to a multitude in the open air for two hours, then to travel perhaps twenty miles across the country and talk for two hours more at night in an adjacent county town strains the strength and vitality of any man. Yet those who can husband their resources, and can so arrange their appointments as to secure a good night's sleep (a thing not always possible), will sometimes come out of a campaign in better condition than when they enter it.

After two or three speeches have been carefully prepared at the outset of a campaign they may be varied and repeated indefinitely, and the intellectual exhaustion is not great. The hardest strain is in the few cases where the addresses are reported in full. Then the speaker must prepare a new one each day, and after a week or two of such a drain the brain of the most fertile speaker will be exhausted and he must seek a respite.

Where two or more men speak at a single meeting, they are expected to divide the time as equitably as possible. But this is not always done. The first speaker sometimes becomes so deeply engrossed in his subject that he takes no note of the lapse of his allotted hour, and he often leaves to his companion little more than the meagre remnants of the time and sometimes of the audience. There are few men so patriotic that they will stand the frequent repetition of this treatment with anything more than superficial equanimity.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.